

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 01119 221949Z

12

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 INR-07

LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 /069 W

----- 106094

R 221826Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WAHSDC 5304

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USMISSION GENEVA

DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L R O M E 1 1 1 9

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ELAB, IT

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH CISL LEADER BRUNO STORTI

1. SUMMARY. IN A LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH ME AND MY LABOR ATTACHE, CONDUCTED IN A FULLY CORDIAL AND CANDID ATMOSPHERE, BRUNO STORTI, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC-ORIENTED ITALIAN CONFEDERATION OF LABOR (CISL), CONFIRMED THAT HE A CISL ARE MUCH CLOSER TO THE DC NOW THAN FOR MAY YEARS. THE REASON IS SIMPLY THAT THE PARTY IS AGAIN PAYING ATTENTION TO CISL, THE REPOSITORY OF SUBSTANTIAL DC VOTING STRENGTH. STORTI PRAISED THE HONESTY AND INCORRUPTIBILITY OF PARTY SECRETARY ZACCAGNINI. HE BLAMED THE CURRENT CRISIS ON THE SOCIALISTS AND SAID THEY WOULD SUFFER FOR IT AT THE POLLS, HE IS TWO MINDS ABOUT EARLY ELECTIONS: HE OPPOSES THEM STRONGLY AS A LABOR LEADER BECAUSE THE SOLUTION TO VITAL PROBLEMS WOULD BE INDEFINITELY POST-PONED, BUT THINKS THE DC MAY FARE BETTER SOONER THAN LATER. ON THE OTHER HAND, ANY DC GAINS WOULD PROBABLY NOT RPT NOT COME AT THE EXPENSE OF THE COMMUNISTS. STORTI WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT DC CHANCES IN THE UPCOMING REGIONAL ELECTIONS IN SICILY AND ROME SINCE THE DC ORGANIZATIONS IN THOSE TWO AREAS ARE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 01119 221949Z

AMONG THE LEAST ADMIRABLE ANYWHERE. LABOR UNITY, IN TERMS OF

MERGING THE THREE CONFEDERATIONS, IS A VERY DISTANT PROSPECT, STORTI SAID. ITS ACHIEVEMENT DIMINISHES AS COMMUNIST STRENGTH INCREASES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CURRENT LOOSE ASSOCIATION IN THE CCU IS ACHIEVING USEFUL LABOR CONSENSUS ON ISSUES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THE UNIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. BRUNO STORTI, SECRETARY GENERAL OC CISL, EXPRESSED HIMSELF ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS IN MY CONVERSATION WITH HIM ON JANUARY 21:

1. RELATIONS WITH THE DC. EVERYONE IN CISL, INCLUDING THE MANY WHO ARE NOT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (BUT ALSO DEFINITELY NOT COMMUNISTS), ARE MUCH HAPPIER WITH THE DC THAN THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE RECENT PAST, FOR ONE PRINCIPAL REASON: THE PARTY IS AGAIN PAYING ATTENTION TO CISL. UNDER THE PREVIOUS (I.E., FANFANI) LEADERSHIP, THIS WAS NOT THE CASE, A PERVERSE STATE OF AFFAIRS BECAUSE ONLY THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ANYTHING LIKE AS MUCH SUPPORT AMONG THE WORKERS AS THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.

2. ZACCAGNINI. WHATEVER THE INTELLECTUAL MERITS OF THE NEW DC SECRETARY, HE POSSESSES TWO INDUBITABLE QUALITIES: HONESTY AND INCORRUPTIBILITY. WHEN 99 OUT OF 100 VOTERS ASSUME THAT ALL POLITICANS ARE IPSO FACTO DISHONEST, THIS IS A TREMENDOUS ASSET.

3. THE SOCIALISTS. THE PSI CLAIMS TO REPRESENT THE WORKERS BUT IT IS MAINLY A PARTY OF INTELLECTUALS. FURTHER, THE CURRENT SOCIALIST LEADERS, EXCEPT FOR MANCINI AND NENNI, ARE NOT EVEN SOCIALISTS. DE MARTINO AND OTHERS COME FROM THE OLD ACTION PARTY (AS DOES REPUBLICAN LEADER LA MALFA), AND THIS WAS A PARTY OF THE INTELLECTUAL ELITE. THE FAULT FOR THE CURRENT CRISIS IS THE SOCIALISTS, AND THE WORKERS KNOW IT.

4. EARLY NATIONAL ELECTIONS. STORTI IS SOMEWHAT OF TWO MINDS ON THIS. AS A LABOR LEADER, HE AND ALL OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT STRONGLY OPPOSE EARLY ELECTIONS BECAUSE THEY WOULD SIMPLY POSTPONE FOR AN UNCONSCIONABLE PERIOD OF TIME THE ABILITY OF A GOVERNMENT TO CONFRONT THE MANY URGENT PROBLEMS WHICH CRY OUT FOR SOLUTIONS. AS A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, HOWEVER, HE DOESN'T KNOW BUT WHAT THE DC MAY BE BETTER SERVED WITH ELECTIONS NOW THAN LATER. IF THE ECONOMY DOES NOT TURN AROUND SOON -- AND IT MAY NOT -- THE DC COULD BE SERIOUSLY PENALIZED BY THE VOTERS A YEAR FROM NOW. ON THE OTHER HAND, ANY DC RECOVERY OF VOTES

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 01119 221949Z

IN EARLY ELECTIONS WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE COMMUNISTS, BUT OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, THE LIBERALS AND THE SOCIALISTS, I.E., THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN TOTO WOULD NOT BE STRENGTHENED.

5. REGIONAL ELECTIONS. THE CISL WILL DO WHAT IT CAN FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, BUT UNFORTUNATELY THE DC OF SICILY AND OF ROME -- THE TWO MAJOR AREAS WHERE ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD --

ARE AMONG THE MOST MORALLY BANKRUPT OF THE DC ORGANIZATIONS WHYWHERE. IN SHORT, CISL SUPPORT WILL NOT BE VERY ENTHUSIASTIC. THE DC LEADERS IN THESE TWO AREAS ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT THAN WITH THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE PARTY OR THE COUNTRY.

6. INCOMPATIBILITY. STORTI FREELY CONCEDED THAT THE LABOR POLICY OF INCOMPATIBILITY -- THE DOCTRINE AGREED TO BY THE THREE CONFEDERATIONS IN 1969 PROSCRIBING THE SIMULTANEOUS HOLDING OF LABOR AND POLITICAL OFFICE -- HAS BEEN A BAD MISTAKE. HE OPPOSED IT STRONGLY AT THE TIME, BUT HAD TO GIVE WAY THWN PROPONENTS CLAIMED HIS OPPOSITION, AS A DEPUTY IN PARLIAMENT, WAS SELF-SERVING. THERE WERE CERTAIN PEOPLE WHO HOPED AND ASSUMES THAT HE WOULD OPT FOR POLITICS, LEAVING THE CISL LEADERSHIP AVAILABLE. STILL OTHERS, (E.G. ANDREOTTI) WERE HAPPY TO LOSE A TOUGH POLITICAL COMETITOR IN LAZIO; STORTI SAUS HE WAS NO. 3 IN LAZIO AND GAINING. THE OTHER MISTAKE IN THIS CONNECTION WAS IN ASSUMING THAT INCOMPATIBILITY WOULD HURT THE COMMUNISTS MORE THAN THE DEMOCRATS. THE REVERSE HAS PROVED TO BE THE CASE.

7. LABOR UNITY. THIS IS ON ICE, AT PRESENT, AND IS UNLIKELY OF ACHIEVEMENT, IN THE SENSE OF MERGER, AT ANY FORESEEABLE TIME. STORTI SAID THAT, IN ANOTHER SENSE, LABOR UNITY WORKS RATHER WELL AT THE CURRENT LOOSE CCU LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT, WITH GOOD CONSENSUS POSSIBLE IN FORMING LABOR POLICY. HE SAID THAT CISL FINDS ITSELF AGREEING MORE OFTEN WITH COMMUNIST PROPOOSALS THAN WITH THOSE OF THE SOCIALISTS. THE FACT IS, HOWEVER, THAT LABOR UNITY IS INVERSELY TIES TO COMMUNIST STRENGTH: THE STRONGER THE PCI GETS, THE MORE LABOR UNITY FADES AS DEMOCRATIC LABOR FORCES UNITE TO PRESENVE THEIR LIBERTY.

8. RELATIONS WITH THE AFL-CIO. STORTI WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO EXPRESS THANKS FOR THE WAY IN WHICH CISL NATIONAL SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ROME 01119 221949Z

ROMEI WAS RECEIVED DURING HIS IVP VISIT IN THE US LAST FALL, AND ABOVE ALL AT THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION IN SAN FRANCISCO. HE WAS HEARTENED BY THE FACT THE ROMEI WAS SUBSEQUENTLY INVITED TO (AND ATTENDED) A SPECIAL FUNCTION SPONSORED IN NEW YORK BY THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL. STORTI WAS VERY PLEASED THAT GEORGE MEANY SENT A TELEGRAM TO THE NEW YORK EVENT, EXPRESSING GREETINGS TO ALL THE ITALIAN GUESTS (UIL SEC GEN VANNI AND CISL MINORITY LEADER SARTORI WERE THE OTHERS). STORTI POINTED OUT THAT, AT THE ICFTU CONGRESS IN MEXICO CITY, HE HAD TAKEN THE INITIATIVE, JOINED IN BY MANY OTHERS, TO EXPRESS REGREAT AT THE CONTINUED ABSENCE OF THE AFL-CIO, AND TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE AMERICAN FEDERATION WOULD RETURN SOON BECAUSE IT WAS VERY MUCH NEEDED. DIFFERING VIEWS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO ESTRANGE THE LABOR FORCES OF THE FREE WORLD, STORTI SAID.

3. COMMENT: GIVEN THE MAN'S PAST PERFORMANCE, THE SINCERITY OF STORTI'S REMARKS MUST ALWAYS BE WEIGHED CAREFULLY. IT IS CLEAR, IN ANY EVENT, THAT HE IS CURRENTLY WORKING MUCH MORE CLOSELY WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY THAN IN A LONG TIME. AS THE INDISPUTABLE LEADER OF CISL, HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE DC IS A VITAL FACTOR IN CONDITIONING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS. ANYTHING WHICH BRINGS THE DC BACK INTO CONTACT WITH ITALY'S LARGE INDUSTRIAL WORKING CLASS, A SECTOR IN WHICH MANY LOST DC VOTES MAY AGAIN BE FOUND, IS TO BE ENCOURAGED. OUR SOURCES INDICATE THAT STORTI'S AMBIVALENCE ON EARLY NATIONAL ELECTIONS IS WIDELY SHARED IN CISL, AND THE NOTION THAT THE DC MIGHT DO BETTER NOW THAN A YEAR HENCE IS GAINING SUPPORT. (IT SHOULD BE NOTED THESE REPORTS PREDATE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CLOSING OF THE ITALIAN EXCHANGE MARKETS FOR THE LIRE. VOLPE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, LABOR UNION OFFICIALS, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 JAN 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ShawDG  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976ROME01119  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760026-0056  
**From:** ROME  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760131/aaaabbff.tel  
**Line Count:** 184  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ShawDG  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <29 MAR 2004 by KelleyW0>; APPROVED <29 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CONVERSATION WITH CISL LEADER BRUNO STORTI  
**TAGS:** ELAB, IT, CISL, (STORTI, BRUNO)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006